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AUTHOR Prokop, Manfred
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ABSTRACT

A research project is described which, using Gardner and Lambert's scales plus 10 other instruction-related items, sought: (1) to examine the stability of attitudes, as changes might occur from the beginning of a course to its end; (2) subsequently, to draw inferences as to the impact that a German language and/or culture course might have on student perceptions; and (3) to relate attitudinal change and positivity and negativity of attitudes to achievement. Some of the conclusions were as follows. Attitudes remained essentially the same over the academic year; although they had been quite positive at the beginning, the abundance of cultural material to which the students had been exposed had had no systematic impact on attitudes. A positive correlation between achievement and more positive attitudes was obtained on a number of scales for those students who had changed significantly. Students who held strongly positive attitudes toward German cultural traditions and the German speakers obtained higher marks than others, while students who felt insecure of their position in Canadian society, who felt Canadian culture was superior to German culture and were suspicious of foreigners, and who saw only utilitarian purposes in learning German had the lowest achievement. (Author/KM)

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THE STABILITY OF STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD GERMAN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE OVER AN ACADEMIC YEAR

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Background

In the search for reliable approaches to the prediction of success in learning a foreign language, the profession has increasingly shifted attention, away from the study of cognitive factors (e.g. intelligence, aptitudes or special talents) toward an analysis of non-cognitive factors (e.g. students' and teachers' attitudes and motivation). This change in emphasis is probably due to the recognition that aptitude testing has not been a totally satisfactory means of prediction; in fact, it was concluded by Jakobovits and Nelson[1], after having reviewed the relevant studies, that only about one half of the total variance to be accounted for in the prediction of FL achievement can be assigned to cognitive factors; the other half must be assigned to non-cognitive factors, such as motivation and perseverance. As a result, a host of empirical studies have appeared since the early sixties, all of which have placed into the focus of attention, the learner's attitudes toward the foreign culture and his desire to understand and identify with it. I will have more to say about these studies in a minute.

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Learning a foreign language does, of course, involve a confrontation with the foreign culture in which it is embedded - whether the course explicitly lists this activity as a performance objective or not. It involves coming to terms with what Brooks[2] called formal culture and deep culture, the former being the results of the creative endeavors and achievements of intellectual and artistic genius and the various modes of significant thought and gen-

teel living. Deep culture, on the other hand, is the sum of individual thoughts and actions, beliefs, concerns, hopes and worries, personal preferences, the gradations of interpersonal relationships as expressed in deeds and words.

Students perceive both aspects of the foreign culture - perhaps to varying degrees - through the prism of their self-concept, and the desirability of reaching the goal of learning a foreign language is mediated by the perceptions of attractiveness, the rewarding qualities, of the goal and the process of reaching the goal. All other factors being equal, it appears that students are not likely to be successful in learning the FL if they perceive neither the goal of being able to speak, understand, read, or write the FL nor know its culture as particularly attractive or if they have negative impressions of the learning experience itself (involving process, content as well as interactants).

Gardner and Lambert and their co-workers and disciples, the pioneers of the concepts "instrumental orientation" and "integrative orientation" towards a foreign language and its associated culture, have defined the motivation to learn a foreign language as being "determined by the student's attitudes toward the other group and toward foreign people, in general, and by his orientation toward the learning task. The orientation is said to be instrumental in form if the purposes of language study reflect the more utilitarian values of linguistic achievement, such as getting ahead in one's occupation. In contrast, the orientation is integrative if the student wishes to learn more about the other cultural com-

munity because he is interested in it in an open-minded way, to the point of eventually being accepted as a member of that group."[4]

The value of the concept of instrumental and integrative orientation has been documented in several investigations in Canada, the United States, and the Philippines by Gardner and Lambert and their associates. All studies showed that students with a strong motivation achieved the best results in learning French, but a different attitudinal base was operative in each case; in the Lousisiana studies, strong parental support and encouragement appeared to underlie the motivation; in Maine, the important factors were the extent to which a student identified with his teacher, and his sensitivity to other people's feelings. In Connecticut, motivation seemed to rest on an integrative orientation toward French culture and a realization of the usefulness of knowing the language[5]; the Philippine study showed that instrumental motivation in learning English as a FL was extremely effective; integrative motivation had strong positive effects, especially on audio-lingual performance.[6] These studies and others which have been carried out in Canada are discussed in detail in Gardner and Lambert's book: Attitudes and motivation in second-language learning[7] and in Dil: Language, Psychology and Culture.[8]

A student's attitudes toward the foreign language and culture do not exist in a vacuum, rather they may be conceptualized as being influenced by other forces, for example, the society at large which holds certain views about a given culture and transmits them to the smaller units (the school, parents, the peer group)

which exert influence with a system of rewards and sanctions. I have elsewhere[9] discussed some of the major dimensions of this attitude network and given a summary of conceptual statements and empirical research in the areas of parental and peer group relationships with the learner's attitudes, and student perceptions of the FL and culture, of himself as a learner, and of the learning environment, viz. the course, the teacher, the classroom atmosphere.

The purpose of this paper will be

(1) to obtain an attitude profile of students enrolled in German courses at the University of Alberta;
(2) to examine the stability of attitudes as changes might occur from the beginning of the course to its end, and subsequently to draw inferences as to the impact that a German language and/or culture course might have on student perceptions;
(3) to relate attitudinal change to course achievement;
(4) to relate positivity or negativity of attitudes to achievement; and
(5) to discuss the implications of the relationships between achievement and attitudes and attitudinal change for the teaching and learning of German as they might concern the classroom teacher.

Subjects

68 students enrolled in 16 different sections of first-, second- and third-year German courses at the University of Alberta participated in the study. There were 28 male and 40 female students. 33 students took the first-year language course, 19 the second-year language course and 16 students were registered in a third-year

language course, a culture and civilization course, and a survey course of German literature. 32 students had begun to learn German at home before they took courses in German in high school or at the university, while 36 students had had no contact at all with German language and culture except through courses.

It may be taken for granted though that increased acquaintance with both formal and deep culture had been objectives in the high school and the university courses; for example, the first-year course presented everyday surface culture, the second year analyzed major present-day cultural aspects and socio-political institutions; the third-year courses presented formal culture from a historical as well as a contemporary point of view. In none of the courses was the learning of German limited to purely linguistic acquisition: all involved exposure to and confrontation with aspects of German cultural practices, traditions and institutions.

Instrumentation

Students' attitudes toward German language and culture, toward certain psychological constructs, and toward instruction-related variables were sampled twice during the academic year, once at the beginning of October and once at the end of March, by means of a questionnaire devised by Gardner and Lambert[10], and an additional ten statements which were intended to evaluate the impact of other motivational forces on the students' attitude network: the students' agreement or disagreement was required with a total of 79 statements on a rating scale from 1 to 5.

The first 69 items are grouped into seven scales; they are:

1. the German Attitude Scale: It explores attitudes toward German cultural traditions, toward perceived social characteristics of Germans and toward the contribution that German-speaking Canadians do or could make to Canadian culture (e.g. "German-speaking people have produced outstanding artists and writers"; "German-speaking people are very dependable"; and "German-speaking people set a good example by their family life").

2. the Anomie Scale: This scale is intended to gauge student's feelings of social incertitude, the extent to which he harbors feelings of being dissatisfied or discouraged with his place in Canadian society (e.g. "These days, a person doesn't really know whom to count on", or "The state of the world being what it is, it is very difficult for the student to plan his career").

3. the Ethnocentrism scale contains statements which require the student to evaluate his perceptions of the "my-country-right-or-wrong" type; it purports to measure, therefore, suspicion of foreign people and ideas (e.g. "Canada may not be perfect, but the Canadian way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society"; "Foreigners are all right in their place, but they carry it too far when they get too familiar with us").

4. the Cultural Allegiance Scale compares perceived characteristics of Canadian with German people and culture (e.g. "Compared to German-speaking people, Canadians are more sincere and honest"; "The opportunities offered young people in Canada are far greater than in Germany").

5. the fifth scale evaluates students' authoritarian attitudes (e.g. "People can be divided into two distinct classes; the weak

and the strong"; "The true Canadian way of life is disappearing so fast that force may be necessary to preserve it").

6. an Instrumental Orientation Scale examines the student's attitudes toward the language and the usefulness it might have for him (e.g. "The study of German can be important to me because I think it will some day be useful in getting a good job"; "I need German in order to finish college").

7. an Integrative Orientation Scale measures the student's desire to become like a German speaker in outlook (e.g. "The study of German can be important to me because it should enable me to think and behave as do the German-speaking people").

The ten instruction-related variables were:

(a) Learning German is fun.

(b) It bothers me that my fellow students can listen to me while I talk in class.

(c) When I hear German spoken, I always have to laugh: it sounds so funny.

(d) Nowadays, German commands more respect than do other foreign languages.

(e) My friends think it's great that I am taking German.

(f) Most of the time, I like to do my homework and prepare for class.

(g) Considering how I study my German, I can honestly say that I really try to learn German.

(h) I wouldn't want any other teacher for this class.

(i) My parents probably think it is important for me to know German.

(j) If I really could, I would drop this course right now.

The two achievement criteria were the term mark (which is a cumulative mark for the year's work and accounts for 70% of the final mark) and the final exam mark (which accounts for 30% of the final mark).

Results

An attitude profile of the 68 students taken at the beginning of the course looks as follows:

They had fairly positive attitudes toward the Germans and their cultural traditions and achievements; they were also fairly positive about their own position in Canadian society, and expressed no strong dissatisfaction with it; they were quite strongly unethnocentric, showed a weak cultural non-preference for Canada over the German-speaking countries; they were at the undecided level about authoritarian attitudes; they didn't think that German would be useful to them; but showed rather a strong desire in becoming culturally like a German.

With regard to the process of learning German, the students agreed very strongly that learning German was fun; that they liked to do their homework and liked to prepare for classes; they really tried hard to learn German; they didn't want any other teacher for their class (where their rating was midway between agreeing and being undecided). They believed their friends thought it was great that they were taking German; they agreed, but not very decisively, that parents considered it important for them to know German. They disagreed - although not very strongly - with the statement that German nowadays commands more respect in the world than do other foreign languages; they were strongly of the opinion that it didn't

bother them to speak German in front of other students; and they disagreed even more strongly with the statement that they would drop the course right then and there if they really could; finally they agreed very strongly that German didn't sound funny to them at all.

Sex did not have a differential effect on attitudes: no significant differences were observed between male and female students' scale scores. Incidentally, the phrases "significant differences were obtained" or "standard levels of confidence in determining significant differences were reached or exceeded" refer, of course, to the fact that - after having used the appropriate statistical instrument to establish differences - that there were no more than five chances in a hundred that the difference resulted from purely random, coincidental changes, the type that might arise where students filled out a questionnaire carelessly and therefore inconsistently. When differences are referred to in this paper they are all of the above type so that one has a reasonable assurance that results did not arise from pure coincidence.

Back to the discriminative effect of sex on attitudes: Female students were more strongly agreed than males that learning German was fun, while males said with more conviction that they wouldn't want any other teacher for the course they were taking.

A search for a possible interaction between course level and attitudes yielded only one scale difference: students in second-year German were more integratively oriented than the third-year students.

Students in the Beginners' courses agreed more strongly than second- or third-year students that hearing German spoken sounded funny to them and made them laugh; they were also less strongly convinced that their parents thought that knowing German was important for them.

Students who had not been exposed to German at home before taking formal courses held stronger attitudes of cultural allegiance to Canada than did the group with family language background; it must be noted though that both groups' attitudes ranged mid-way between "undecided" and "disagreeing" with cultural allegiance; the home language background students simply showed even less cultural preference for Canada than did those students who had no such language background. Students with no family language background were significantly higher in agreement with the statement that they really tried very hard to learn German; they were less sure that their parents thought it was important for them to know German, but were agreed more strongly than those who had begun to learn German at home that learning German was fun.

The overall picture is a happy one indeed, as far as a teacher might be concerned. It should be mentioned here that students volunteered to participate in the study, and did not give their names when they completed the questionnaire, but identified them with ID numbers - if they wanted to, with their university ID numbers. They were also asked to return the questionnaires in sealed enve-

lopes; consequently, instructors were not aware of their students' responses, and even implicit pressure on students to respond favorably could not have been very great; yet faking is a possibility that should be kept in mind, ecpecially with the items which deal with the instructor and the course.

This positive complex of attitudes remained essentially the same from the beginning to the end of the academic year: attitudinal differences between administrations did not reach standard levels of significance with any of the scalesnor the 10 items. It must be concluded that the abundance of cultural material to which the students had been exposed over the course of six months had had no systematic impact on attitudes, as measured by this instrument.

Yet: an inspection of individual students' scores did reveal changes in attitudes, and the above conclusion implies, of course, only that changes were not directionally consistent enough to allow the statement that differences in attitudes, significant at standard levels of confidence, had taken place over the academic year.

In fact, a remarkably pronounced pattern of attitudinal change did become apparent in a tabulation of directional changes for the seven scales: on each of them, about one half of the students had not changed their attitudes at all, one quarter had become more negative and another quarter had become more positive. On the 10 instruction-related items, the no-change percentage was slightly higher (about 60%), but the direction of changes was equivalently distributed. Furthermore, only one third of the students who had

changed their attitudes at all, changed them by more than one interval on the scale from 1 to 5.

It follows that one half of the students did not change their perceptions at all, another 30% changed their attitudes only slightly, and only about 20% of the students had changed decisively. So the next step in the analysis involved teasing out patterns of non-random change with the extreme changers and to relate these to achievement. For this purpose, students were grouped into three categories: (1) those who did not change their attitudes at all on a given scale, including students whose scale scores were within one standard deviation of the mean; (2) those students whose scale scores exceeded the mean by at least one standard deviation; and (3) those whose scale scores were lower by more than one standard deviation than the scale means. This method of group assignment produced a large middle group (according to the principles of statistics about 68% of all students would be expected to fall into this group), and two smaller groups who underwent extreme attitudinal changes.

The mean achievement scores for the three groups were then subjected to an analysis of variance, and significant differences in achievement between at least two of the three attitude groups were observed on four of the seven scales, and on four of the ten instruction-related items.

On the Anomie scale, the scale which purports to measure a student's dissatisfaction with his position in Canadian society, those

who had not changed their attitudes markedly had the highest achievement; in fact, they exceeded both these student groups who had become more anomic and those who had become less anomic.

Similarly, students who had not changed their Ethnocentricity over the year showed the highest achievement when compared to their peers who had become more ethnocentric.

On a third scale, Instrumental Orientation, which is intended to measure the students' perceptions of the usefulness of learning German, those who had remained unchanged in outlook showed superior achievement when compared to students who had become more utilitarian in outlook.

And the same trend was observed on one more scale, the Authoritarianism scale, viz. students with unchanged perceptions showed the highest achievement; in that case, however, standard levels of confidence in determining significant differences were not reached.

On the Cultural Allegiance scale, however, a different pattern prevailed: students who had become less convinced of Canada's superiority over German cultural institutions showed significantly higher final marks than did those who had come to show more cultural preference for Canada. The non-changers had marks in-between the two extreme groups.

The same trend, but no statistically significant difference, occurred with the German Attitude Scale: those students who had developed more positive attitudes towards the Germans and their culture had higher marks than those who had become more negative in their outlook.

For the ten instruction-related attitudes the highest achievement was shown by:
(a) students who had come to disagree with the statement that they would drop the course if they really could vs. students who agreed with it. The latter also had lower marks than students who did not change their opinion.
(b) those students who said that they liked to do their homework and prepare for class versus those who had come to dislike doing that.
(c) by students who were less of the opinion that their friends thought it was great that they were taking German.
and (d) by those students who remained unchanged in their perceptions of the relative unimportance of German as a world language, while students who now concurred with the statement that German does command more respect than do other languages had the lowest achievement.

In each of these cases, non-changers either had the highest achievement by statistically significant differences or came in a very close second behind the group with the highest marks.

Other examples of the relationship between achievement and stabi-

lity of attitudes were:

Students who came to agree more strongly with the statement that Germans are very democratic in their politics and philosophy had higher marks than those who thought less so.

Those students who now disagreed with the statement that family life is more important to Canadians than it is to the German-speaking people had a higher achievement than did those who hadn't changed their minds.

Higher marks were also obtained by students who believed more strongly that Germans could benefit greatly if they adopted many aspects of Canadian culture than was obtained by those who hadn't changed their opinions.

Students who disagreed more strongly with the statement that one needs a good knowledge of at least one foreign language to merit social recognition had lower achievement than those who hadn't changed their perceptions of the importance of German in this regard. And finally, those who had come to disagree over the academic year with the statement that a knowledge of German would some day be useful in getting a good job had a higher mark than those who hadn't changed their perceptions.

It is clear that this section contains several puzzling findings; especially with regard to the differences between changers versus non-changers; these data will be interpreted in a later section of

this paper.

In the preceding part, it was established that about 50% of the students did change their attitudes one way or the other, but that the direction of such change was not consistent enough to result in statistically significant differences in attitudes from the beginning of the year to the end. However, when the attitudes of those students who ranged at either extreme of the agree-disagree continuum and those located between these two boundaries were related to achievement, a general positive correlation between achievement and more positive and/or unchanged attitudes was obtained on a number of scales.

The next step in the data analysis required relating achievement not to attitudinal change, but to actual positivity or negativity of attitudes: high, medium and low scores on the various scales will be associated with achievement and relational differences will be examined.

Attitudes given at the beginning of the academic year did not, in general, have a discriminative effect on achievement six months later - with only one exception: Students who had had a high integrative motivation then showed higher marks than the undecided groups; i.e. those students who at the beginning of the course had desired to become more like German speakers had the best marks at the end of the year.

On the Post-Test consisten[9] differences were observed on four of

seven scales, viz.

(1) Students who held strongly positive attitudes towards German culture and the Germans had higher achievement than those who were undecided about their attitudes toward German cultural traditions, practices, and institutions.

(2) Students who had highly anomic feelings (i.e. who felt dissatisfied with their position in Canadian culture) had a pronounced lower achievement than did students who scored low or in the medium range on this scale.

(3) Students high in ethnocentric feelings scored significantly lower in their course than did the medium and low-ethnocentricity groups.

(4) Students with a highly instrumental (utilitarian) orientation scored significantly lower than did those who had medium or low instrumental orientation.

(5) The positive relationship between integrative orientation and achievement which had obtained at the Pre-Test did not exist anymore at the end of the year. High-integrative students did not have a significantly higher achievement although the trend pointed in that direction.

In short, students who held strongly positive attitudes toward German cultural traditions and the German speakers obtained higher marks than others; while students who felt insecure of their position in Canadian society, who felt Canadian culture was superior to German culture and were suspicious of foreigners, and those who saw only utilitarian purposes in learning German had the lowest achievement.

All ten instruction-related items discriminated among achievement trends as follows: Significantly higher marks were related to maintaining:

that learning German was fun;

that spoken German doesn't sound funny or strange;

that students weren't bothered by having to speak German while their class mates could listen to them;

that German doesn't command more respect in the world than do other foreign languages;

that friends and parents probably didn't think it was important for them to know German;

that they liked doing homework and preparing for class;

that they really tried hard to learn German;

that they were highly satisfied with their instructor;

and that they certainly did not want to drop the course.

Discussion

Several broad conclusions can be drawn from the results obtained in this empirical study; their reliability is enhanced by the fact that a pilot study[10] which was undertaken two years ago with a similar student sample of 50 showed equivalent results both with regard to the attitude profile and the positive correlations between the German Attitude Scale and Integrative Orientation, respectively, with achievement.

Certain observations which have been made by Gardner and Lambert regarding the importance of the affective domain in learning French as a second language appear to be similarly valid with regard to

German language and culture.[11] Apparently, a generalized pattern of affective variables and their association to achievement exists irrespective of the target language.

The seven scales clustered into two major groups of variables: the first consisting of positive German Attitudes, low Cultural Allegiance to Canada, and high desire to become like a German speaker; this cluster, signifying openness towards German culture, was positively related to achievement, i.e. the more attractive German culture was to the students, the better were their marks. The other cluster consisted of Authoritarianism, Ethnocentrism, Anomie and Instrumental Orientation. Achievement correlated negatively with strong closed-mindedness, insecurity and extrinsic motivation to learn German, which are expressed in this cluster.

Certain other perceptions can apparently also be of significance in the prediction of achievement: it appears that the best marks were obtained by those students who had a no-nonsense approach to the study of German, who were self-reliant, yet who showed high affective satisfaction with course structure, classroom atmosphere, and the instructor.

This set of outcomes is of special importance as they represent motivational variables which are under the control of the teacher, while others, such as sex or home language background, are not, and personality factors, as for example, ethnocentrism, anomie or authoritarianism may be quite beyond the teacher's legitimate and competent concern.

Another important result is the finding that attitudes were (1) quite positive toward the foreign culture, the foreign speakers and the course (whereas the professional literature[12] indicates that students tend to harbor quite negative attitudes toward FL instruction); (2) these attitudes prevailed across background variables to a remarkable extent; and (3) they remained extremely stable over the course of the academic year.

It is concluded then that - although increased acquaintance with the foreign culture had played a major role among the objectives of these courses - the provision of such learning experiences had not had any effect at all on the attitudes of about 50% of the students, and had had no directionally consistent effect (i.e. producing unequivocally more positive or more negative perceptions) on another 30%; only those students who for one reason or another, had undergone extreme attitudinal change, differed significantly in achievement from the large group of those who had not changed their attitudes at all or only slightly. Although attitudes toward German culture and German speakers were acceptably positive, a further increase in positivity would have been desirable because those who had had the most positive attitudes to begin with or who changed into that direction showed higher marks than their peers.

The major unexpected outcome of the study concerns the observation that on some of the attitude scales students who had not changed their perceptions at all or only slightly, obtained higher marks when compared to those who had become decisively more negative or more positive. It had been expected that differences,

if any, would arise between the extreme change groups.

The following interpretation is offered as a tentative explanation of the phenomenon:

An inspection of the semantic content of items in the two types of scales suggested a basic difference between those on which change in the positive direction correlated with higher achievement and those scales on which no significant change was associated with better marks. The former involved students' reactions to statements which are fairly non-committal, with which it is easy to agree. Marked changes in these attitudes do not require a profound restructuring of the total self-concept in order to accommodate the new perceptions and bring them into congruence with existing ones. These scales are the German Attitude Scale and the Cultural Allegiance Scale (e.g. German-speaking people are much more polite than many Canadians; ours would be a much better city if more Germans would move here; Canadian children are better-mannered than German-speaking children are).

On the other hand, the scales Anomie, Ethnocentrism, Authoritarianism, and Instrumental Orientation reflect deeper-seated aspects of the self-concept, convictions that lie at the very basis of a personality (e.g. no matter, how hard I try I seem to get a "raw deal" in school; certain people who refuse to salute the flag should be forced to conform to such patriotic action, or else be imprisoned; human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict). The ego-involvement in these attitudes is

therefore presumably much stronger, and any profound restructuring in one or the other direction there would necessarily create dissonance, insecurity, uncertainty, fluidity, and, consequently, would prevent the kind of goal-directedness, no-nonsense work attitude as well as the affective satisfaction with the course which had been associated with high achievers. It is significant, I think, that the dynamics of extreme attitudinal change were such that students, who had been undecided at the beginning of the year, had become strongly negative; those who had been strongly negative, improved their perceptions to merely undecided.

There is a considerable body of conceptual and empirical research in this area. Jakobovits[13], for example, has speculated that ego-threatening experiences may impede FL study for some students, especially if they feel that the psychological involvement is being forced upon them. Sherif, Sherif and Nebergall[14] placed the concept of ego-involvement in the center of their discussion of an individual's differential susceptibility to attitude change; they suggest, on the basis of empirical findings, that high ego-involvement in a stand is accompanied by high resistance to change. Those who do take extreme stands are more likely to be highly ego-involved than those who are undecided about perceptions; consequently, those students who changed decisively (and it should be noted that they changed from or toward strongly negative perceptions) must have overcome greater resistance to change, and in turn must have experienced strong emotional arousal, conflict, dissonance, and insecurity - conditions hardly suitable for effective learning.

The findings that, on the one hand, very negative perceptions had improved over the year and were, on the other, accompanied by low achievement, can be reconciled in terms of Sherif, Sherif and Nebergall's[15] model, namely that a discrepancy between a person's opinion and his public commitment, brought about by formal or informal pressure, arouses psychological dissonance which can be reduced by changing toward the view expressed in the classroom. It follows then that the extreme changers from negative to undecided did not really alter their attitudes, but gave in to social and/or other pressures and adjusted their publicly held perceptions; their covert perceptions were probably just as negative at the end of the year or possibly even more so; and negative attitudes and change towards negative perceptions have been shown to be related to low achievement.

You will probably have noticed that the cluster of scales which has been postulated as being predicated on higher ego-involvement and therefore as being more resistant to change with the appropriate consequences, is the same as the one which had been related to low achievement in the first place. The other cluster - openness to German culture - which requires less ego-commitment and is therefore more amenable to change is also the one which had been associated with high achievement.

What do these results mean to the classroom teacher? The reservations and limitations proper to any empirical study with regard to the generalizability of results to other situations apply here too, of course. For similar samples and similar learning conditions, their validity is greater than for markedly different

configurations. Yet I believe it would be important for any teacher to be aware of these findings and to keep them in mind when dealing with his or her own students; the pattern of findings, if not their magnitudes, may be equally applicable there. Noting these reservations, the following inferences may be made:

(1) Positive attitudes toward German language and culture, toward the course and certain personality characteristics which make it possible to hold positive attitudes towards another culture, are related to higher achievement.

(2) The teacher will find it difficult to change attitudes because of their pronounced stability, especially the ones which are predicated on or accompanied with high ego-involvement.

(3) Forcing attitudinal change may produce results opposite to the ones intended. If attitude change is desirable it would be advisable to arrange instructional variables in such a way that students get maximum satisfaction and emotional support from them; they would, consequently, feel relatively free in that classroom climate to explore other attitudes without perceiving pressure to enforce attitudinal change. Especially applicable is here the recent work done by Cooke[16] who suggested that the FL classroom should have a fairly non-directive atmosphere in which students can explore their values and attitudes together with the teacher; Wolfe and Howe[17] have proposed to involve the total student in learning the FL to let him explore his own self, his value hierachy and life style through the FL in communication games which are intended to produce real interaction between himself and others (e.g. 20 things I like to do; values voting; unfinished sentences; the fall-out shelter problem).

It is clear that the teacher has to be expertly trained to be able to provide assistance in this area. Wolfe[18] has recommended that teachers should be prepared for dealing with problems arising from negatives attitudes (e.g. anxiety, active or passive hostility) by undergoing not only the traditional kind of cognitive and behavioral teacher education, but also affective education. This type of training would provide the teacher with the means of knowing how a student feels about wanting to learn, how he feels as he learns and what he feels after he has learned. Valette and Disick[19] have described affective behavioral performance objectives in FL learning, their development and measurement. Hancock[20] has suggested to use simulation of actual teaching experiences for sensitizing prospective teachers to strategies in the affective domain. During methodology training the teacher should continuoously ask himself: How did the student react to me, to the lesson: Which assumptions and expectations did I have about my students that might influence my attitudes towards them? These efforts would be worthwhile in terms of both humanizing education as well as (or consequently) making it more effective.

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